DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 103 497 UD 014 195

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TITLE The Psycho-social Habilitation of High Risk Israeli Adolescent Immigrants Through Group Care.
PUB DATE 73
NOTE 28p.; This document may not be clearly legible in many parts due to the print quality of the original; Reproduced from the best available copy

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.76 HC-$1.95 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS Acculturation; *Adolescents; Behavior Problems; Compensatory Education Programs; Followup Studies; *Immigrants; *Intervention; Participant Characteristics; *Program Evaluation; Psychological Evaluation; Remedial Instruction; Socially Disadvantaged; Special Education
IDENTIFIERS *Israel

ABSTRACT

This paper reports the first phase of a larger longitudinal follow-up study of graduates of Youth Aliyah. At its inception in the early 1930's, Youth Aliyah was conceived as an organized campaign to attract Jewish adolescents away from Central Europe and inspire them to move alone or with their families to Palestine. During the war and immediately afterwards the rescue operation spread widely into Western and Eastern Europe. The third kind of rescue began around 1948 when a large proportion of children gathered into the Youth Aliyah framework came from Islanic countries (63 percent in the 1950's and 44 percent in the 1960's). These children and adolescents were saved not only from political oppression but also from a condition of severe economic improverishment and status deprivation. This paper describes the cultural backgrounds of the target groups, including the socially disadvantaged and behaviorally disordered among them who are referred to herein as "high risk" and subject to special intervention provisions in Youth Aliyah. The effects of these special provisions and of the more typical Youth Aliyah offerings were evaluated on the basis of tests of general intelligence, language development, and social adjustment administered by the Israeli Army to all inductees. Results show that the Youth Aliyah groups compared favorably with national norms, thus attesting to the compensatory value of special total care provisions for the "high risk" children. (Author/JM)

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The Psycho-Social Habilitation of High Risk Israeli Adolescent Immigrants Through Group Care

by

Reuven Feuerstein

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Abstract

This paper reports the first phase of a larger longitudinal follow-up study of graduates of Youth Aliyah, a group care program for Israeli adolescent immigrants. It describes the cultural backgrounds of the target groups, including the socially disadvantaged and behaviorally disordered among them who are referred to herein as "high risk" and subject to special intervention provisions in Youth Aliyah. The effects of these special provisions and of the more typical Youth Aliyah offerings were evaluated on the basis of tests of general intelligence, language development, and social adjustment administered by the Israeli Army to all inductees. Results show that the Youth Aliyah groups compared favorably with national norms, thus attesting to the compensatory value of special total care provisions for the "high risk" children.

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At its inception in the early 1930's, Youth Aliyah* was conceived as an organized campaign to attract Jewish adolescents away from the terrorizing, anti-semitic environment of Central Europe and inspire them to move alone or with their families to Palestine where they could start a new life free of fear and harassment. It offered refuge to thousands of young people who saw no hope of self-fulfillment in the Old World. At the same time it sparked their idealistic inclination to help build their ancient homeland as a permanent haven for themselves and for future generations of Jews.

During the pre-war period, 1934-39, Youth Aliyah was mainly involved in rescuing those children who were directly threatened by the Nazi regimes in Germany and Austria. During the war and immediately afterwards the rescue operation spread widely into Western and Eastern Europe in an effort to reach orphaned children who had survived the holocaust. As many as 72% of the children arriving in Palestine and Israel on those years originated from various parts of Europe. The third kind of rescue began around 1948 when a large proportion of children gathered into the Youth Aliyah framework came from Islamic countries (63% in the 1950's and 44% in the 1960's). These children and adolescents were saved not only from political oppression but also from a condition of severe economic impoverishment and status deprivation. As of this writing, approximately 135,000 children have been part of the 39-year history of Youth Aliyah. Table 1 shows the changing nature of the Youth Aliyah subjects for the period 1934-1967.

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* The Hebrew term "Aliyah" literally means "going up." In this paper it refers to emigration to Israel.

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Table 1

Number and Percent in Youth Aliyah by Period and Origin

Period	Total	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Islamic Countries	Israeli Born
1934-39	4,956	4,434 (90%)	522 (10%)	--	--
1939-45	10,269	2,768 (27%)	4,527 (45%)	1,751 (17%)	1,123 (11%)
1945-49	24,192	1,806 (7%)	17,086 (71%)	4,075 (17%)	1,225 (5%)
1950-59	48,826	1,562 (3%)	10,042 (21%)	30,654 (63%)	6,368 (13%)
1960-67	26,101	1,969 (8%)	6,739 (26%)	11,485 (44%)	5,908 (22%)
Totals	114,144	12,539 (11%)	39,016 (35%)	47,965 (42%)	14,624 (12%)

The integration of groups and individuals originating from oriental underdeveloped societies to the Israeli occidental culture has brought the State face-to-face with a compounded integration problem. The first is linked to changes which the immigrants normally have to undergo in order to adapt themselves to life in a modern technological society. This difficulty is a direct function of the degree of general cultural difference between established and immigrant groups as reflected in their life styles, traditions, value systems, and languages. In comparison to new arrivals from Western societies, those coming from Islamic countries are disadvantaged because of the great distance between their culture of origin and that which they find in Israel. But beyond the problem of cultural discontinuity that affects all immigrants from Eastern countries, there are added handicaps facing the socially disadvantaged among them. They are not only different from the native born host population; they also suffer deprivation within the immigrant group.

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Cultural deprivation is conceived here as those adaptational deficiencies which are produced by an estrangement from one's own cultural values. This estrangement results from a host of historical socio-economic conditions and changes in ethnic structures which obstruct the transmission of cultural values between generations. Social disintegration has destroyed the capability of communal institutions to function as effective transmission agents, and the problem has been aggravated by the failure of the nuclear family to mediate the temporal dimensions of the world to their children. The resultant syndrome of cultural deprivation is characterized by slow cognitive development and a deficiency in adaptive capacities whenever confronted with the need to change. When cultural deprivation combines with cultural difference the chances for successful acculturation become severely impaired. Accordingly, the work done by Youth Aliyah with oriental children could be defined as a rescue operation in that it has redeemed children and youth from a politically hostile environment and from a state of cultural deprivation brought about by a rapid process of socio-cultural disintegration.

As long as the function of Youth Aliyah was one of rescue, questions about the efficiency of the various programs were, although of interest, not of major concern to its administrators. Priority was almost exclusively directed toward the practical task of saving children by bringing them to Israel, and the only available framework for doing this at the time was Youth Aliyah. Today, however, the situation is quite different. Youth Aliyah is no longer the sole absorbing and care-taking agency available to the immigrant child; a number of alternatives are open to him. He can live at home with his immigrant parents while participating in a day care program;

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he can be placed with a foster family; or he can be referred to several other types of total and part-time care outside the nuclear family. Changes in Israeli society have opened a variety of compensatory programs for children from deprived and marginal groups, including both immigrant and native born in Israel.

In view of the cumulative experience with children exposed to the Youth Aliyah program, it is now possible to assess the long range effects of the program on the subsequent acculturation of socio-culturally different and deprived children who had graduated from it. The future role assigned to Youth Aliyah may strongly depend on the answers derived from such follow-up studies.

Broadly speaking, there are three categories of Youth Aliyah wards. The first is still the adolescent arriving in Israel without his family who is accepted into the Youth Aliyah framework while still abroad. The second category is composed of youth immigrating to Israel with their parents. Referral to Youth Aliyah is the result of a decision taken by the parents and/or the children, usually determined by socio-cultural, economic, and familial factors. The third group consists primarily of Israeli born children, although usually of immigrant parents, who exhibit a variety of maladaptive characteristics that necessitate their placement outside the nuclear family. The change in the type of population referred to, and accepted by, Youth Aliyah represents a shift from prior rescue roles towards more educational and acculturative goals which are pursued through its special program of group care, either in kibbutzim or youth villages.

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The Present Study: Long-Term Effects of Group Care

In the early 1950's the issue of group care had already become the target of heavy criticism based on strong reservations about separating the individual from his family. This criticism was inspired by the dynamic psychology of Freud, from which some of its influential misinterpreters derived the generalization that the family is the sole reasonable locus for socializing the child, with parents playing the major role in this process. The hypothesis was extended indiscriminately to all stages of development including early and late adolescence. Such an orientation reflected itself in a great reluctance on the part of educators and counsellors to detach the child from his family.

In cases where separation of the child was unavoidable, preference was given to placement in a foster family. Where this, too, was impossible, a kind of artificial family structure was instituted such as in the so-called family cottages where children of different ages create a kind of sibling rather than peer group. Considering the child's need for succorant care, as evidenced by the work of Bowlby and Spitz, it was simply maintained that the "worst family is better than the non-family" framework. Therefore, great effort was made by welfare agencies all over the world, especially in the United States, to help maintain the child in a family setting rather than provide him with institutional asylum. Although this strategy seems appropriate in certain cases especially where the disintegration of the family is due to situational factors such as the death of a parent, illness, or family disintegration through divorce, it may be largely inappropriate where the family itself is the locus of socio-cultural and/or emotional deprivation. Parents in such a family cannot easily function

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as socializing agents, mediating the environment for the child, and orienting him to the world of education and occupation, even if adequate financial support were available. The home is basically overstimulating in its day-to-day family crises but also understimulating in that it fails to nurture the child's adaptive mechanisms in a complex society.

Foster family programs were for a very long time considered to be the next best way to rear a child in need of placement outside his own family. It is only in the last decade that the foster family program has begun to be questioned by such researchers as Eisenberg (1965), Alpert (1965), and Wolins (1965). Their objections to foster family programs are varied and numerous, focusing primarily on the underlying assumption that perceives the nuclear family as the sole socializing agent. One has to question the generalizability of this assumption over all the various developmental phases the child undergoes, especially those phases where the specific needs of developing youth are often different and sometimes antagonistic to the requirements of the family-type setting. Such a phase is adolescence, when the need to detach oneself from the nuclear family is probably one of the greatest sources of tension, stress, and conflict within the family. Peer orientation is probably the most common phenomenon at this stage of growth for the normal individual.

Since Youth Aliyah provides for the adolescent a peer-centered environment away from his family, but under the care and education of surrogate parents, it is important to assess the long-term effects of such a program on its participants. Does Youth Aliyah facilitate the acculturation of culturally different, socially deprived adolescents who spend at least two years in the program? How do its graduates fare in their

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occupational development marital status, social integration, and general morale within a Western-oriented society which makes more success demands on the individual than does the society from which they came? One of the earliest major challenges confronting the wards soon after graduation from Youth Aliyah is army life with its heavy social, physical, and intellectual demands. The present study focusses on this period of their early adulthood by examining their performance records as military draftees and the contribution of the Youth Aliyah experience to these army ratings. Subsequent studies will deal with their post-army history.

Target Populations and their Youth Aliyah Programs

The initial pool from which the experimental sample was drawn included Youth Aliyah graduates who responded to a questionnaire on their social, economic, occupational, and marital history at least ten years after terminating their participation in the program. These graduates ranged widely in countries of origin, ages at the time of immigration, dates of immigration, socio-economic status, and educational development. In Youth Aliyah, they had been educated in kibbutz and youth village programs, some of which were religiously oriented while most were not, and the content of their educational experiences varied from academic instruction to agricultural and vocational training.

Respondents to the aforementioned follow-up questionnaire could not be randomly selected since no records were kept of their present whereabouts. The only way to reach them was through direct invitations to known Youth Aliyah graduates, informal referrals from friends of the research team, word of mouth through the respondents themselves, and open appeals transmitted via the mass media. Such procedures helped locate some 2,528

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graduates, 2,051 of whom actually responded. The problem of sample bias had to be taken into account in order to use the respondents as a population on which to conduct a study of Youth Aliyah graduates' performance on Israeli Army tests. This was done by comparing the respondents' army test scores with those of a random group of 853 Youth Aliyah graduates drawn from Israeli Army files. No significant differences emerged, which meant that the selected and random samples could be collapsed for the present investigation. Moreover, generalizations could then be made from analyses of the follow-up questionnaire which will be reported in another paper.

Once the overall target population had been identified it became apparent that there were really two types of Youth Aliyah graduates: (1) Those who represented the majority of the group by virtue of their having completed the normal program, and (2) those who had been placed in special intervention programs to help them overcome various psycho-social and cultural handicaps. Members of the latter sample could be considered relatively high risk in their liklihood of becoming adapted to Israeli life. One measure of the success of their adaptation in late adolescence and early adulthood was their performance on the Army tests which, in effect, also assessed the special Youth Aliyah programs designed to facilitate the personal redevelopment of these children. Therefore, in planning the present follow-up study, it was decided not only to focus on graduates of the normal program but also on higher risk sub-groups identified separately by the compensatory programs in which they had participated.

The Normal Youth Aliyah Groups

Although the immigrant population included some behaviorally deviant

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and socio-culturally disadvantaged children requiring special treatment, the great majority were brought up within the normal framework of Youth Aliyah, namely, the group care program. In this program great emphasis is laid on three major areas of adaptation: School, work, and group living. Success in these activities is considered to be a prerequisite for integration into the normal peer group. Where individuals need help in their adaptive efforts, they are referred to specialized psychological and social services of Youth Aliyah.

Typically, the daily schedule includes a half day of school activities and another period of occupational orientation varying from two to four hours, according to the child's age which also determines the length of his stay in the program, anywhere between two to seven years. The average period spent in Youth Aliyah is somewhat more than three years with the age of acceptance ranging from eleven to about eighteen. Graduation from Youth Aliyah is usually followed soon afterwards by induction into the army.

The Treatment Group

The treatment group consists of severely disturbed, socially disadvantaged children organized for periods of therapeutic intervention within the normal educational framework. They are thus able to maintain strong ties with normal peers while receiving the special help they need. Previous to this program, many such children had been referred to mental hospitals or to residential settings for disturbed children.

The major goal of the treatment group program is to keep its children in a planned and controlled relationship with normal peers in a way that enables deviants to use the normals as potent models for reshaping their behavior along adaptive lines. A four-step procedure is used in pursuing

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this programmatic goal:

1. Unconditional acceptance of the child by the therapeutic environment.
2. Non-threatening individual and group activity designed to reduce anxiety.
3. Inducing regression through realignment of the scholastic and non-scholastic programs, thus making their sophistication levels more compatible with each other. (Feurstein and Krasilowsky, 1967)
4. Developing a sense of belongingness to a normal peer society through planned interaction and collaborative projects.

Residential Center Group

Residential centers accommodate socially disadvantaged immigrant children who enter Youth Aliyah at age 12-15 and are placed in intensive educational and counseling programs to facilitate their psycho-social adaptation. Many of these adolescents range from illiteracy to third grade level scholastic achievement upon admission to the program. In addition, they frequently manifest anti-social behavior which had earlier led to their dropping out of school or at times even into difficulty with the law. A high percentage of these children are considered dependent in the sense that they cannot remain at home by virtue of extremely adverse familial situations. They are therefore brought to the residential centers for an intensive period of training that lasts between one and two years. After completing this program they are expected to continue their training within such Youth Aliyah settings as kibbutzim, youth villages, or vocational training schools before induction into the army.

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Day Center Group

Day centers attempt to orient the culturally different immigrant to the new society while retaining his relationship with his family and providing him with continuing education in his own neighborhood. The major idea behind the program is to keep the child within the community and in close relationship to it. Many day center children are kept out of the regular educational framework because of their inability to measure up to the academic demands of their schools. At the day center there is a partial shift of emphasis away from scholastic skills in the direction of vocational training which lasts for one or two years, depending on the child's age. Thereafter, he is either referred to work in the community or given an opportunity to continue training in a residential Youth Aliyah center for vocational training.

The day center population functions at a higher academic level than the treatment and residential groups, most of the children having completed seven or eight years of schooling at the time of referral to the day centers. Many enter the Youth Aliyah program after attempting to enroll in high school but failing to measure up to admission standards. Nevertheless, they tend to be better motivated to succeed educationally, perhaps because their family environments are more stable and supportive of their self advancement. Since the residential and day care settings differ in the kinds of populations they serve, their programs are adjusted accordingly, as follows:

1. While the socially disadvantaged child referred to the day center continues to live within the locus of deprivation, the child referred to the residential setting is offered the opportunity

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to discontinue his exposure to deprivational environments and relationships in the home, thus facilitating significant redevelopment.

2. The day center emphasizes immediate satisfaction of the disadvantaged adolescent's concrete needs, which frees him at an early age from undesired academic activities and offers instead an intensive program in prevocational training. Children referred to the residential setting, on the other hand, are oriented mainly towards academic achievement and much is done to keep them back from an adult-type of occupational concerns prematurely.
3. A host of redevelopment activities are featured in the residential center program and not in the day center. These include creative arts, group projects, and guided and controlled social activities, all of which are calculated to have a compensatory impact on handicapped children.

Disturbed Residential Group

In terms of the initial condition of their disturbance the disturbed residential group does not differ from the treatment group, except that their intellectual functioning is in the normal range. Referral to special care institutions is mainly due to severe emotional and behavioral factors rather than retarded scholastic development. The greatest proportion of these children come from child care institutions, youth villages, and kibbutzim where attempts to help them toward improved social adjustment had been futile. The major programmatic difference between the residential setting for the disturbed and the treatment group lies in the fact that whereas the latter is treated in a close and intimate

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relationship with a normal peer group, the residential disturbed group lives separately in its own social climate.

Non-Youth Aliyah Siblings

A comparison group of non-Youth Aliyah subjects consisted of brothers of a random sample of Youth Aliyah graduates included in the present study. Selected were only those who vary by 4 years, plus or minus, from their Youth Aliyah graduate brothers, thus ensuring the comparability of the target and sibling samples in terms of countries of origin, average age, dates of immigration, home environments, socio-economic status, and familial life styles. Little is known about the personal histories and scholastic records of the non-Youth Aliyah population, but it is probably a lower risk group than its siblings since parents were more likely to refer to Youth Aliyah those children who experienced conflict and stress within the family.

Accordingly, it is possible to hypothesize an ordering from low to high risk populations in the present study, as follows:

1. The non-Youth Aliyah sibling population for whom there was no declared need for any special intervention.
2. The general or majority Youth Aliyah population, a relatively normal group of children exposed to the regular Youth Aliyah program.
3. The day center population, which had previously attended regular schools but were scholastically too weak to qualify for admission into an academic high school program.
4. The residential center population, a socially disadvantaged group exposed to a compensatory group care and educational program.
5. The treatment group, severely disturbed and poorly developed in their cognitive functioning.

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6. The disturbed residential group, no less disturbed but confined to a therapeutic environment within a behaviorally deviant subculture.

Population Samples

Table 2 shows 4312 subjects included in the original sample, with all but 538 having participated in the Youth Aliyah Program. The second column presents the number of subjects within the subgroups for whom any kind of army information is available. Only about half of all the graduates could be located in the army files because the various identification systems were not efficient enough to track down all the names, especially since many had either Hebraized their names or (in the case of females) had changed them through marriage.

Table 2
Population Samples and Sub-Samples

	Total			Male		
Population	Original Sample	Army Sample	Percent with Army Data	Original Sample	Army Sample	Percent with Army Data
*Youth Aliyah Respondents	2,051	1,037	50.6	1,362	997	73.2
Youth Aliyah Non-Respondents	477	228	48.2	286	217	75.9
Youth Aliyah Random	853	488	52.5	617	427	69.2
Non-Youth Aliyah	538	215	40.0	320	205	64.0
Treatment Group	62	34	54.8	47	33	70.0
Residential Center	121	61	50.4	89	57	64.0
Day Center	169	84	49.7	117	81	69.0
Disturbed Residential	41	20	48.8	32	19	59.4
Total	4,312	2,127	49.3	2,865	2,035	70.9

* Excluding graduates from special programs.

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Analyses of the army data are restricted to a sub-sample of Youth Aliyah subjects who (1) have army records, (2) have male siblings also with army records but with no previous membership in Youth Aliyah, and (3) are no more than four years older or younger than their siblings. In instances where more than one sibling in a family met these qualifications he was included in the non-Youth Aliyah group.

After an initial inspection of the army data, it was decided to drop the female graduates from the present study. The reasons were simple: First, only a limited number of females join the army, unlike the males who are subject to near-total conscription. Secondly, of those females who had been in the army, many were subsequently married and did not reveal their maiden names in the follow-up questionnaire, thus making it difficult to trace them in army files. Among the male graduates, however, fully 70% had army records that could be used in the present investigation.

Criterion Variables and Test Results

The data collected for the present study were derived from a battery of tests and interviews administered by the army to all inductees over a period extending from about a year prior to their joining the armed forces until some months after induction. Many graduates underwent early parts of the examination when they were still in the Youth Aliyah program, but others had already left Youth Aliyah and started being examined while living at home. Criterion measures included tests of general intelligence, language development, psycho-social adaptation to army life, and attained military rank. The following sections describe these measures and the results they yielded.

Intelligence

The level of general intelligence of the prospective soldier in the

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Israeli Army is measured by a two-part group measure. The first part is an Otis type verbal test and the second part is a non-verbal test based on Raven's Progressive Matrices. The composite score is then expressed in stanine scores ranging from 1 (low) to 9 (high)with a mean of 5 and a standard deviation of 2. Table 3 shows the score distributions, means, and standard distributions of the target and comparison groups on the army intelligence tests. All the means fall within less than one-half standard deviation of the population average. The exceptionally large Standard Deviation for the representative Youth Aliyah sub-group (2.55) may be due to the fact that there were not enough special facilities to accomodate extremes of the tested intelligence range, thus preserving much of the group's initial heterogeneity.

Table 3
Israel Defense Force Recruits by Subgroup and Level of Intelligence

	Intelligence Level					
Subgroup	High (7-9)	Average (5-6)	Low (1-4)	Mean	S.D.	N
Youth Aliyah	17%	53%	30%	5.12	2.55	83
Non-Youth Aliyah	17%	40%	43%	4.80	1.72	92
Treatment Group	24%	44%	32%	5.27	1.52	34
Day Center	7%	34%	56%	4.09	1.53	70
Residential Center	2%	59%	39%	4.44	1.38	59
Disturbed Residential	11%	44%	45%	4.72	1.53	18

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The army intelligence test data point to Youth Aliyah's apparent success in bringing educationally retarded adolescents into the normal range of intellectual functioning despite their backgrounds as immigrants from some of the most severely depressed regions of the Middle East. Although there was greater likelihood that higher risk children in a family would be sent off to Youth Aliyah by their parents, the test results show they compared favorably with their non-Youth Aliyah siblings by the time they graduated and entered the army. There is no statistical difference between the two groups, even with the Youth Aliyah graduates being less represented (by 13%) at the lower end of the performance scale. Particularly noteworthy is the performance of the Treatment Group consisting of children who had entered the program practically illiterate, with severe retardation symptoms as indicated on measures of cognition and suffering from serious social adjustment problems (Feuerstein and Krasilowsky, 1967). Their mean score of 5.27 places them somewhat above the national norm, which underscores the possibility of helping adolescents overcome marked learning deficits, given a suitable intervention program and setting.

The disturbed residential group's performance at about the national norm level is not surprising, since children brought into this program were average in tested intelligence and school achievement, even though they presented serious behavioral and emotional problems requiring special treatment. Next to the lowest in rank is the residential center group which entered Youth Aliyah from the most disadvantaged socio-cultural environments and with the poorest intelligence test scores. The mean difference between this group and Youth Aliyah normals is significantly at the

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.01 level (t = 2.69), indicating that earlier deficits had not been wiped out in Youth Aliyah. However, even lower performance (albeit not statistically significant) on army tests was demonstrated by the day center group, which confirms earlier impressions by Wolins. Feuerstein, et al ( ) that although the children living at home show a higher level of educational achievement at the time they enter the day care program, the total group care given the other groups may eliminate these initial differences.

In essence, then, most of the Youth Aliyah groups performed within the normal range of tested intelligence by the time they were inducted into the armed forces. The nature and amount of programmatic investment in these children varied widely and may have had a differential impact on them, particularly on those with psycho-social and educational handicaps. Specifically, it may account for the superior performance of the treatment group over the residential center group; (t = 2.67, significant at the .01 level) and for the relatively disappointing scores made by children who received only partial care in day care centers as compared to those benefitting from total care in kibbutzim and youth villages.

Language Development

Knowledge of Hebrew serves as one of the important classification criteria in the Israeli army (Amir, 1967). It is highly related to the rank a soldier achieves in service and is also considered to be a good indicator of educational achievement. The variable itself is measured by a test consisting of about 50% vocabulary and 50% reading, writing, and comprehension. The score is again reported in stanines and the mean for the general population being tested for army service is around 7. It is on this variable that the remedial services of Youth Aliyah can be assessed.

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Table 4

Israel Defence Force Recruits by Subgroups and Knowledge of Hebrew

Subgroup	High (7-9)	Average (5-6)	Low (1-4)	Mean	S.D.	N
*Kibbutz Born	96%	3%	1%	7.87		
*Others	72%	17%	11%	6.96		
Youth Aliyah	89%	8%	3%	7.80	1.25	76
Non-Youth Aliyah	69%	15%	16%	6.85	2.04	95
Treatment Group	76%	18%	6%	7.00	1.31	34
Day Center	54%	26%	20%	6.30	1.83	76
Residential Center	68%	28%	4%	6.83	1.23	60
Disturbed Residential	61%	17%	22%	6.44	1.57	18

* Information on these groups is taken from Amir's paper ( ) with the mean estimated.

As indicated in Table 4, the normal Youth Aliyah group exceeds the national norm by almost a half stanine (mean = 7.80) while the non-Youth Aliyah siblings scored at about the average (mean = 6.85). Fully 89% of the Youth Aliyah group obtained scores of 7 or higher while among the siblings only 69% earned this score. The t value is 3.55, significant at the .001 level. The Youth Aliyah group had somewhat more years of schooling (45% of Youth Aliyah subjects had high school or more against 36% of their siblings), which shows the influence of Youth Aliyah in enabling and/or stimulating its wards towards advancing themselves educationally. Their scores come close to kibbutz born youth who are generally considered among the highest achievers in the army.

As in the case of tested intelligence, language scores show

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near-normal performance or better by most groups. The treatment group, mostly illiterate when entering the program is at the average level (Mean = 7.00) as is the residential center group (Mean = 6.83), while the day center children again rank lowest (Mean = 6.30). Some of the mean differences may relate to the varied length and intensity of the program. The normal Youth Aliyah group stays longest while the treatment group program is the most intensive. Thus, the difference between Youth Aliyah and all other groups is significant at the .001 level, while the treatment group and residential center groups score significantly better, at the .05 level, than the day center group. If one takes into account also the initial disadvantage of these groups in intensive care, the gain in achievement is even more dramatic.

Tziun Derekh

Personality variables are measured by a test called Tziun Derekh, which consists of two parts: the first half is a highly structured questionnaire with items probing for attitudes towards the army, friends, order, discipline, and independence, the purpose being to predict adaptation to life in the army. The other half of the score is supplied by a less structured interview on various dimensions of temperament and belief systems.

Table 5

Subgroup Scores on Tziun Derekh

Subgroup	Mean	S.D.	N
Youth Aliyah	25.48	3.86	25
Non-Youth Aliyah	23.33	4.30	39
Treatment Group	24.71	4.60	24
Residential Center	22.62	4.00	50
Day Center	22.00	3.06	33
Disturbed Residential	24.25	3.03	18

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Analysis of mean scores on Tzlun Derekh in Table 5 shows that the Youth Aliyah children performed significantly better than all other populations. The non-Youth Aliyah and the treatment group scored significantly higher than the residential and day center groups but not higher than the disturbed residential groups. The results are roughly consistent with outcomes on intellective variables presented earlier.

Kabah

Perhaps the best predictor of success in the army (r = .5) is the Kabah measure, representing combined weighted scores in tests of intelligence, language development, and educational achievement. Here, the Youth Aliyah population scored significantly higher than all other groups, except the treatment group. The latter, in turn, performed significantly better than the residential, day center, and disturbed residential samples which were fairly comparable to each other in their Kabah scores (See Table 6).

Table 6

Subgroup Scores on the Kabah

Subgroup	Mean	S.D.	N
Youth Aliyah	49.04	2.98	76
Non-Youth Aliyah	47.66	3.37	95
Treatment Group	48.35	2.95	34
Residential Center	46.87	1.87	50
Day Center	46.21	2.70	75
Disturbed Residential	46.56	2.27	18

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Army Rank

The aboovementioned variables were measured near or at the point of induction into the army. However, performance in the course of army service is reflected in the highest rank attained before being mustered out after three years. Table 7 shows the quantified scores denoting mean highest ranks of the target subgroups, including only those who completed regular army service. Although the normal Youth Aliyah population seemed to perform best in the army, none of the sub-group differences were statistically significant, possibly due to the small numbers who could be included in this analysis by virtue of their having completed army service.

Table 7

Attained Ranks of the Target Subgroups

Subgroups	Mean	S.D.	N
Youth Aliyah	12.8	2.07	32
Non-Youth Aliyah	12.4	1.14	41
Treatment Group	12.2	1.05	14
Residential Center	11.8	.97	42
Day Center	11.9	1.07	43
Disturbed Residential	11.5	.71	18

Table 8 summarizes the army service records of Youth Aliyah graduates in comparison with their non-Youth Aliyah siblings. They are distributed by percentages across all possible categories of army service. No differences are apparent in any of the categories.

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Table 8

Army Service Records of Youth Aliyah vs. Non-Youth Aliyah Groups

	Youth Aliyah	Non-Youth Aliyah
Early Separation	9.5%	7.2%
Regular Service	44.2%	45.1%
Still Serving	7.4%	11.7%
Reserve Only	39.0%	36.4%

Attainment of a particular rank in the army is highly dependent on personal attributes such as reflected in individual initiative and propensity for leadership. The data presented on such measures suggest that the influence of the Youth Aliyah framework may extend to these aspects of human development. Moreover, the results cast doubt on often voiced claims that group care discourages personal initiative, in contrast to a family environment which is assumed to place far more emphasis on the individual, his interests, capacities, and achievements. While the target population's success in army-style group living may be linked directly to the group care experience, the socializing effect of Youth Aliyah seems to have been accomplished without hampering the graduate's readiness to enter into competitive relationships such as those required in order to earn leadership roles in the army.

Summary and Conclusions

This paper represents a first attempt to measure the impact of the Youth Aliyah program on its wards soon after graduation. The criterion measures consisted of performance records obtained from army files,

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including scores on army intelligence tests, language development, personal attributes, and leadership potential. Both the representative Youth Aliyah groups and those having been in special programs for children regarded as high-risk on the basis of mental handicap and socio-cultural disadvantage were compared with each other and with non-Youth Aliyah siblings close in age. Results showed that the Youth Aliyah graduates tended to perform as well as their lower-risk siblings, thus attesting to the compensatory benefits of the group care programs. Especially noteworthy was the performance of the treatment group which entered the program as a high-risk population and emerged ready to compete in army life on an equal footing with the more typical inductees. The fact that most Youth Aliyah graduates approached national norms on the army measures reflects the program's efficiency in bringing a degree of homogeneity into an otherwise highly heterogeneous population.

The near-comparability of the various target sub-groups by the time they have reached army age, despite sharp differences prior to their entering Youth Aliyah, may be partially accounted for by normal processes of growth and socialization. Much of the critical adolescent period of their lives had been completed between admission to Youth Aliyah and the onset of army service, thus providing ample time for a number of developmental factors to help close initial psychosocial gaps. What could have occurred was a regression toward the mean by high-risk groups, while those who entered adolescence functioning at a near-normal level sustained their fairly flat trajectory throughout. Nevertheless, it is impossible to gainsay the compensatory value of Youth Aliyah's intervention programs in comparison to the natural growth processes. Rather

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than being a period of normal corrective development, adolescence has traditionally been regarded by behavioral scientists as a time of hardening resistance to such change, even in the face of social engineering and more personal forms of treatment. Therefore, whatever salutary signs of growth were reflected in the army measures could be ascribed primarily to the graduates' earlier experience in Youth Aliyah, provided that experience was in some form of total care. This is especially true of high-risk children participating in the treatment group.

The results analyzed in this paper were designed to answer some questions concerning the effectiveness of Youth Aliyah programs in general and especially in terms of the differential effects of various programs. Many of the graduates constituting the target group continue to be subjects for further follow-up studies into adult stages of their development. Results of the periodic investigations will be the subject of future reports.